

# GOOD HUMOUR:

O R,

## A WAY with the COLONIES.

Wherein is occasionally enquired into

Mr. *P—t*'s Claim of POPULARITY ;

And the PRINCIPLES of

### VIRTUOUS LIBERTY,

As taught in the SCHOOL of

Mr. WILKES, and other PERIPATETICS.

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— *Et Nos*  
*Confilium dedimus SYLLÆ, privatus ut altum*  
*Dormiret.*— JUV.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for the AUTHOR, and may be had of  
the Booksellers of London and Westminster.

MDCCCLXVI.

GOOD HUMOUR:

A WAY WITH THE COLONIES.

It is a necessary consequence of

Mr. P.'s Claim of Popularity;

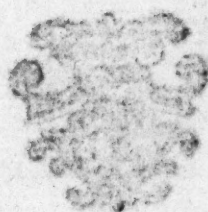
And the PRINCIPLES of

VIRTUOUS LIBERTY.

As taught in the Schools of

Mr. Wilkes, and other Philosophers.

By Mr. J. O. M. D. O. M.  
LONDON: Printed by J. O. M. D. O. M.  
1797.



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# PREFACE.

*I* Think it necessary to advertise the Reader, what kind of entertainment he may hope to meet with in the following Pages.

They contain an attempt to vindicate the British Parliament from the imputation of unconstitutional severity in the late STAMP ACT, and to reconcile the Colonies to this claim of power in the Parliament, chiefly upon principles of Reason, Duty, and Allegiance; and in this I have not departed from that seriousness of argument which the importance of the question deserves. In other parts of the Pamphlet I have endeavoured to ridicule such practices of my Countrymen, and such mistakes in principle, as appear'd to me to lie most open to that kind of attack; and in exposing the folly of which, little attention is usually paid to grave and serious argumentation: How I have succeeded in these, it is impossible for me to judge; the Reader must determine. I flatter myself however that the argument will convince, and the vein of humour  
please;



please; that the reasoning will persuade, and the ridicule inspire a degree of conscious shame in the breasts of those against whom it is pointed.

Since the writing of the Pamphlet, I am told that Mr. P— has once more chang'd the climate, and that having lately gone over to America, he has made a quick retreat, and is come safe back again to Old England. I am not at all surprized at this; for Naturalists observe, (and skilful Anatomists account for it; referring it to a defect in the Pineal Gland, and a twirl or twisting in the Cerebellum) that a true seeker of the *Aura popularis*, seldom steers long the same course, but runs, open mouth, like a boy after a butterfly, wriggling and winding this way and that way, as the versatility of the silly insect leads him.

The Words *lawless* and *illegal* will each occur once at least in the following Sheets, for which the Word *unconstitutional* perhaps may be more properly substituted.

☞ This Pamphlet must be dated from the Time of the STAMP ACT being first under Consideration of the Parliament in the present Session; and of Mr. P--'s sudden veering about from one Side of the Question to the other.





## GOOD HUMOUR, &c.



At a time when the affairs of our American Colonies engage every one's attention, and the minds of men are variously agitated and divided concerning them, it is difficult for one who wishes well to his Country, and but imagines he can either throw some light upon the subject, or otherwise contribute to reconcile the discordant sentiments of his countrymen, not to offer his thoughts and reasonings to the Public. But above all he will be incited to this, when he finds the supreme legislative authority of his Country unjustly as he thinks, reflected upon, and suspected of having exerted a severe and lawless Power; and when he sees Demagogues and factious men using all their arts, to enflame the people, and taking occasion from the best and most salutary measures of Government, to bring an odium upon it, and raze the very foundations of civil society.

The single point in dispute, I apprehend, between the Colonies and their Mother-Country, is the right of the British Parliament to

tax the Colonies for the sole purpose of Revenue; a Power which the British Parliament hath lately exercised in the affair of the STAMP DUTY, and against which the Colonies have more than strongly remonstrated, insisting that the right of taxation is not in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, but in their own Assemblies. In Support of this it is urged, That the Colonies not being represented in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, it would be an illegal exertion of power in the Parliament to impose a Tax upon them; that their Representatives are their own Assemblies, where alone they can and ought to be taxed; it being a fundamental privilege of every British subject to be taxed by his own Representative only. On the side of the Colonies, and to patronize and support this claim, armed in complete armour, steps forth the gigantic Champion of the Americans, Mr. P—, a Goliath, not of *Gath*, but a revolted Englishman; for had he been a native Savage, or a Creole, one might have excused his partiality to his country, and it would have less excited one's amazement, that he should so strenuously pervert his talents to dishonour the Parliament of *Great Britain*, and embroil it with the Colonies: The Popularity which this Gentleman affects, and to which he has attained in an extraordinary degree,

degree, adds weight to whatever side of the question *he thinks fit* to espouse; the Populace who are always in the right, and whose candid judgment no one ever dared to controvert, are entirely at his devotion; they are a *lead*en (I wish I could say a *dead* weight in the scale of Mr. P—, and preponderate above the wisdom of Lords and Commons, above the judgment and deliberation of all the sensible men in Great Britain.

One might make one's self merry with the ridicule of this idea, but there is something belonging to it so pestiferous, and subversive of civil society, that a well-wisher to his Country cannot but seriously regret there was ever so popular a man as Mr. P— born into the world: I believe it may be truly affirmed, that such popularity was never fairly acquired; it always arises out of Faction, and the artful abuse of superior talents; and ever intends its own emolument before that of the Public, with which it is speciously veiled. Does not every impartial observer discover this in Mr. P—? Was his golden Administration unpaid, or his Retreat unpensioned? Is not Lady Ch— now the partner of his bed, and is not the fruit of their embraces ennobled to all posterity? Where then is the disinterested, patriotic  
virtue



virtue of the Man? Perhaps you will say it shone brightest in the day of adversity, when his conscientious integrity could no longer suffer him to hold the reins of government, and he retreated to *Hayes* on foot, like *Cincinnatus* to the plow, having advertised his coach-horses for sale out of sheer poverty and humility. Was there ever such an affectation of popularity, and a seeking for the commiseration and applause of the Vulgar! I had long before suspected, notwithstanding the argument of universal consent, that Mr. P—— was but a Man, a Man of something like passions with the rest of the species, and perhaps both frail and fallible; but this stroke of his Policy discovered that he was in some respects a weak Man, a Dupè to Popularity, inferior to many of those whom he affected to despise, and that he had something else in view than the Public Good.

It is a Saying somewhere of Mr. *Voltaire*, "Rarement les hommes sont assez bons, ou assez méchans." *Men are seldom sufficiently good or sufficiently bad for the accomplishment of their designs.* Mr. P—— has great Talents; which had they been accompanied with unfulfied Virtue and Integrity, would have raised him high in the esteem of his Contemporaries, and endeared

deared his memory to posterity ; but he was not *assez bon*, not armed *Cap à Pied* with Virtue, and the Pillar of his Fame totters ; that little, great name, which was so lately the terror of the enemies of *Great Britain*, and at which both *France* and *Spain* shudder'd, is now sinking into Contempt, and his ardent Thirst of Popularity, will in all probability, even with his own Countrymen, lower him to a very small share of good Reputation.

Who can doubt of this consequence, when even at this critical time, that the Colonies have unreasonably taken the alarm, and by a most tumultuous and offensive behaviour, have resisted the Authority, and made an attack upon the Honour of the British Parliament ? at this critical time, I say, Mr. P—— by the breath of his mouth, has been blowing up the flame of Sedition, already kindled in the Colonies ; declaring it as his opinion, if I am rightly informed, that their claim of exemption from taxation by the British Parliament is a good one, and that the STAMP ACT is an illegal exertion of Parliamentary Power.

I have seen but one Pamphlet upon the subject, which, as it is said to contain the avowed sentiments of a great Lawyer, and a great  
Commoner,

Commoner, is believed to be the produce of their united force: That it was written or superintended in part by some person learned in the Law, the style and expression evidently shew; and that some person of genius and judgment has contributed his part, is equally clear and indubitable. But if I may be allowed to throw in my own conjecture, some third person of a confused head and more Saturnine Genius than the former, has also lent his abilities to the work. Unless indeed it may be supposed, that, similar to what is experienced sometimes in the muddy effect of two pellucid liquors, the jumbling of two brighter heads together might produce a strange and heterogeneous compound; for in all the books I ever read, I never met with greater contrariety. In the general there is good sense and perspicuity; now and then, the most ungrammatical nonsense and perplexity; sometimes what you would expect from a *British* Senator, and sometimes the frantic ravings of a *Virginian* Tobacconist: One while the unaffected manly sense of the gentleman and the scholar, at another time a conceited display of ridiculous pedantry. This I own I was afraid of from the beginning, when I found our combined Authors in the title-page borrowing an unmeaning motto from the obscure *Persius*, a pedantry which



which is afterwards repeated in another more obscure quotation from the same author. I shall transcribe them for the exercise of the ingenious reader's acumen; who as he may now be supposed to have gone thro' the *Ladies' Diary* for the present year, will be glad of an Ænigma or two that will detain him a few weeks longer; at the end of which period, as is usual at the solution of like problems, if any ingenious correspondent shall give the sense of the quotations, and shew a rational connection with the subject they adorn, he shall receive for his pains a full gross of the Pamphlets aforesaid, now lying at the Printers, and ready to be delivered.

ÆNIGMA the first in the Title-Page,

—— *Totumq; hæc verba resignent*  
*Quod latet arcanâ, non enarrabile, Fibrâ.*

ÆNIGMA the second, which alone deserves to be intitled the Prize Ænigma,

—— *Certo comperere Puncto*  
*Nescius Examen.*

It will be but fair play, in order to shorten his labour, to acquaint the diligent investigator of this abstruse Parable, with what I know of the matter. These contemptuous writers, in this latter quotation, represent a simple

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Apothecary

Apothecary (of which profession \* I the Author am not at all ashamed) as weighing out a dose of Hellebore for his Patient, and yet so  
incredibly

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\* It is sometimes a satisfaction to the Reader to be acquainted with the antient and modern history of his Author, which I shall here deduce in a very short compass from the remotest antiquity to the present hour. I am an Apothecary, the son of an Apothecary, my ancestors from time immemorial having been renowned, some for cutting of corns, and some for tooth-drawing. I was put an apprentice in my early years to that famous practitioner Mr. *Esdra Barnevelt*, but by an act of great indiscretion, shall I call it, or meer fatality, had very nearly forfeited my indentures. My master, as is well known, raised a good fortune by his profession, but squander'd away the greatest part of it among Bricklayers and Plasterers. On which occasion, my Evil Genius (whose real and visible existence I can with as much veracity affirm as Dr. *Cook*) tempted me to write down, and if I have any sense or knowledge of any thing, any skill in Medicine, any judgment in Pulse or Urine, blood at my elbow, and did actually dictate to me, *totidem verbis*, the following lines; my little Dog first discovering him to me, and barking all the while that I performed the office of the Devil's Amanuensis.

*Old Esdras by Bolus and Pill that is healthy,  
Cathartic, Emetic, and Clyster, grew wealthy,  
So famous for Palsy, for Gout, and for Itch,  
Old Esdras, my Master, grew suddenly rich.  
But turning his Head from the Art he was skill'd in,  
He lost all he'd got by his Talent for Building:  
Quoth NIC then, observing his long Purse grown shorter,  
What he got by the PESTLE he lost by the MORTER.*

This diabolical inspiration had very nearly lost to the world me NICHOLAS TOD, it's best Apothecary; who now (thanks to my better Genius) practise Phlebotomy with singular ease and success among the better sort of people, and serve many worshipful families with medicine. I have this morning taken a dose of my own physic, and having the combined Authors' Pamphlet in my hand, am perfectly resigned to the operation, and prepared for all events.

incredibly ignorant as not to understand the management of a pair of scales, or to distinguish Troy-weight from Avoirdupois; now as this has nothing to do with the subject of the Colonies, I look upon it as dragg'd in on purpose by the combined Authors to bespatter my profession; and it is this that raises my indignation, stopping within me the regular secretion of the pancreatic juice, and exciting choler.

Without doubt every learned Reader is greatly edified by the quotations, and as this takes in by far the greater number of his Majesty's Subjects in this Kingdom and the Colonies; more especially the common Council of the City of LONDON, and all other Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs and Beadles (the Esq; Beadles of the two Universities, and the Universities themselves always excepted) particularly those more wise and knowing Corporations that had the honour to present Mr. P— with Gold Boxes; all these being highly edified by the quotations in this learned Work, it becomes illiterate persons to be silent, and to admire what they cannot comprehend.

I shall be pardon'd a short digression in favour of the Reader, who will be inquisitive and desirous to learn to what use these glittering trophies



phies are devoted; and as far as my information reaches, his curiosity shall not be disappointed. I never was at *Hayes*, nor have I the honour to know Lady *Cb—m*; but I know a man, that is acquainted with a woman, who had it from a third, that borrowed it from a fourth, and so on in a lineal ascent of about an hundred more, the last of the ascending series being a male, who derived it in immediate contact from Lady *Cb—m*'s Woman's own mouth; who by the bye will not I hope lose her place for having communicated to a bosom-friend this curious detail of the Gold Boxes.

They are, it seems, ranged in elegant topographical order upon Lady *Cb—m*'s Toilet, in a manner altogether resembling a beautiful map of *England*, strict regard being had even to the longitude and latitude of each city and town corporate. The latitude differs in nothing from that of ordinary maps; but with respect to the longitude, there is a small variation, Lady *Cb—m* having shewn the same partiality in this that all geographers have been found to have to their own country, the plane of the first meridian being suppos'd to pass through her Ladyship as she sits before her Toilet.

*London*, as the metropolitical Box, occupies the chief place, and is most conspicuous there, tho'

tho' I don't find that it serves now to any more valuable purpose, than as the repository of a little ladies-plaister and a few cosmetics. *Bristol* and *Bath* are situated at their proper distance, according to the scale, westward; they have both of them as well as *London*, emptied themselves of their FREEDOM, and taken in a valuable cargo of jewels and rings. At some distance, pretty near north of *London*, lies *Coventry*, remarkable for nothing but being cramm'd with ribbands, as *Gloucester* a little more to the west is with pins. Turning back to the south-east, you meet with the *Aylesbury* Box, mark'd 45, and inscribed, for some good reason I suppose, *The Number of the Beast*; within is a beautiful, small enamel of the virtuous Mr. WILKES, with the *North Briton* No. 45 in his hand; which, according to the best chronology, was written in the 45th year of his age, and the 45th day of the month, 45 minutes and 45 seconds, after drinking 45 bumpers, sworn 45 oaths, and looked 45 different ways at one and the same time; and yet this divine man is still in exile! O Liberty! O my Country!

Travelling again a good deal farther north-west you arrive at *Chester*, § whose golden Box

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§ The Writer hopes that this vein of innocent humour, so indulged, will be pardoned by the Gentleman to whom it refers,

Box is said now to contain no other Freedom, than poetic freedom; being fill'd with Poetry, and Panegyric in praise of the great Commoner, written I will venture to say by Mr. P—'s ablest Panegyrist, a respectable Alderman of that Corporation, and mark'd with the letter *D*. A little to the north-east, once was situate *Wigan's Coal Box*, † an offering to the same idol; but being of a substratum of baser matter, and not the COAL Mr. P— wanted, *i. e.* not the true and genuine PIT-COAL, Lady *Cb—m* took the FREEDOM to throw it into the Fire, where it was totally consumed, and had been eternally forgotten, had it not been luckily recorded in this wonderful Chronicle. Here my intelligence breaks off, and I cannot with any certainty (which in an affair of so much consequence is always to be attended to) gratify the Reader's curiosity any farther.

From this engaging description of a land like *Havilah*, where there is Gold, and perhaps too Bdelium and the Onyx Stone, let us sail over the vast Atlantic ocean, and look in-

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fers, as he has a great personal regard for his friendship and abilities; and, were he within his reach, would certainly apologize to him *via voce*.

† The Corporation of *Wigan* presented to Mr. P— a Box, as it is said, of CANNEL Coal.



to *America*; but here my subject requires me *incidere ludum*, to break off all merriment, and to forbear a single expression that is not weighed in the balance of truth and seriousness.

In the Colonies, if I am rightly informed, not only all trade and commerce is at a stand, all credit broken, and all friendly correspondence with *Great Britain* interrupted; but such insanity possesses the minds of men that no obedience is paid to Government, anarchy and tumult prevail every where, and he is esteemed the best citizen that expresses the most rancorous zeal, and combines with the most inveterate fury against the Parliament of *Britain*.

There has just now fallen into my hands Governor BARNARD's speech to the general assembly of the Province of *Massachusetts Bay* in *New England*, upon this subject, which is written with the spirit and understanding of a man faithful to the interests of his Royal Master; perswaded of the Rights of the *British* Parliament, and affectionately tender of the welfare of the Province over which he presides. The answer of the general court of the assembly to this Speech of the Governor's I have also met with; which whoever reads with attention

temper will want no evidence of the ill temper and irritable complexion of that assembly and people. It is so full of evasion, insinuation and menace, and is so uncivil a return to the elegant and affectionate speech of the Governor, and withal discovers so much of greater resentment still concealed, that one cannot but apprehend, what I will not venture to explain. For my part had I any enemy as a private man, dissembling, and yet not able to dissemble such inveterate rancour and revenge, I should not hesitate to believe that at the first moment of his power he would infallibly cut my throat. The reply of the Governor to the assembly's answer is in the same consistent style; and affords still a stronger proof, as well of his own ingenuity, honour and integrity, as of the furious and enthusiastic spirit of the province.

So universal a phrenzy, and so unreasonable never was heard of but in fiction, nor ever resembled by any thing but *Virgil's* inimitable story of *Alecto*, inspiring the *Latins* with groundless rage against the *Trojans*.

*Tu potes unanimes armare in praelia fratres,  
Atque odiis versare domos, tu verbera tectis  
Funereasq; inferre faces: tibi nomina mille,*

*Mille*

*Mille nocendi artes : fœcundum concute pectus,  
Disjice compositam pacem, sere crimina belli ;  
Arma velit, poscatq; simul, rapiatq; juventus.*

This and what follows in the author is a fine poetic fiction, and tho' perhaps it never existed in nature before, discovers the amazing penetration of the poet, and his discernment of the possible effects of human passions. And to what other kind of inspiration can we refer this causeless resentment in the Colonies? Is there any just ground of such anarchical and tumultuous opposition? The legislative authority, it seems, of *Great Britain* assumes the right of taxing the Colonies, and has proceeded to exercise this right in the present contested duty of the Stamps. This is the point we are now to argue and consider.

We will first then suppose the Parliament of *Great Britain* to have exerted an authority they cannot legally support; But what then? Must the Colonies in the first instance, and without waiting the issue of one humble remonstrance, after the passing of the bill, leap over all the bounds of duty and allegiance, and proceed to an extreme, which nothing but the most contemptuous neglect, and the most resolved tyranny can excuse? Is either inferiority or subordi-

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nation



nation implied in the rashness of this resentment? It had been more becoming the state of the Colonies, always dear to *Britain*, and ever cherished and defended by it, to have remonstrated in terms of filial duty and obedience; persuaded that an assembly so august and venerable, so fam'd for justice and equity throughout the world, and of such acknowledged wisdom and goodness, would hearken to their complaints, and relieve their oppressions. If their behaviour has been contrary to all this, let them reconcile it as they can.

But I must abate a little of the concession I just now made, and suppose, as I very fairly may, that the right of taxing the Colonies is at least a doubtful point. If it cannot be demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Colonies, that such a right is legally vested in the Parliament of *Great Britain*; they must give us leave in our turn to except against their demonstration of legal exemption from it; and then the matter of law being set aside as too intricate for our decision, the question will remain to be determined by Utility and the justest Reason.

It shall first of all be granted to the Colonies that they have a natural Right, which is better

better and more impossible to be shaken than any legal Right, to all the equity and indulgence that *Great Britain* can shew them; for after all that has been said in volumes upon the different claims of different Governments, founded as they are either upon Conquest, Compact, or Prescription, there is nothing can supersede the natural Right of all men to Justice and Equity; or in other words, to the best estate, of which, their situation, all circumstances consider'd, is capable: The Right of Conquest is no more than the greater force of the Conqueror, which enables him to exert what degree of tyranny he pleases, but cannot authorize him in the least departure from mercy and goodness. And the same may be said of Governments supposed to be founded upon Compact: For if there is any thing in them not consonant with sound reason and the Public Good, it must needs have been the concession of a deluded or a subjugated people; and consequently void, as being compacted either without Understanding or without Freedom: And this argument will bear still more strongly against the iniquity of a Prescriptive Right; for what is the Prescriptive Right of Oppression, though in the smallest instance, but the immemorial Custom of being unjust or cruel, or otherwise detrimental to the Society over which it is ex-

exercised? No man (and it is the same with combinations of men) can claim a Right to do Wrong: It is a plain absurdity and contradiction; and an attention to this single point, would silence a thousand disputes in a thousand intricate volumes of political and polemical jargon. Hence is evidently deduced the reasonableness of what is granted above, that the Colonies have a natural Right, and a better Right they cannot have, to all the Equity and Indulgence that *Great Britain* can shew them.

But then, it is to be farther observ'd, that this same method of arguing is equally favourable to Governors as to the Governed, and to the Mother-Country as to the Colonies; for it would be ridiculous to suppose, that a people should have a claim to whatever happiness their situation will admit, and that Princes and Governors should be excluded from it; that a Colony should be blessed with Freedom and Immunities, and that the Mother-Country should not be entitled to the like advantages. *Great Britain* and her Colonies then are to be consider'd as mutually bound to promote one another's interests, and to make concessions as circumstances may require, tho' neither awed by Force, nor obliged by Law or Charter. If this reasoning be just, (and I think it cannot be



be disproved) the Colonies will no longer think it equitable to insist upon Immunities which the people of *Great Britain* do not enjoy. To claim a right of being taxed by their Assemblies only, appears to have too much the air of Independence; and though they are not represented here, (a topic which I shall not fail to discuss in the sequel) would give them an Immunity beyond the inhabitants of this Island.

That it is such an Immunity may be proved by supposing some part of *Great Britain*, the County of *York* for instance, surrounded by its own sea, unrepresented in the British Parliament, and liable to no taxation but from their own Assemblies: Would not the County of *York* regard this as a singular and great immunity? Would they exchange it for any other advantage that could be offered them? or would they think themselves sufficiently recompensed by the honour of obtaining seats for a score of Representatives in the British Parliament?

I have as high an idea of the Constitution of my Country, as profound a veneration for the Parliament of *Britain*, and as true a sense of the happiness of being born an Englishman, as any other of my fellow-subjects; but I have not altogether that lofty idea of the value of particular

particular and special Representation which some men pretend to have; and should think my Liberty and Property as well secured (and my peace and quiet a great deal more so, for I hate a Mob,) by 500 Gentlemen of worth and honour, chosen out of any part of the Kingdom, as if they were all supplied from the County of ———, where I have the happiness to reside; and, with exception to the great esteem I have for the present worthy Representatives of this City and County, I should not think myself in such case abandoned as a Citizen, or enslaved as an Englishman, though I had no Vote for my Property, nor special Representative among the Commons of *Great Britain*.

This will serve to throw a little light upon, and detect the fallacy of that argument of Representation, which is the main bulwark and defence of the Colonies in their claim of Exemption: They are not specially represented here it is true by any Deputies from among themselves; but is this any matter of real moment? Is it a defect which they are really solicitous to supply? Or could they hope to procure any advantages from 100 Representatives? Common Sense answers all this in the Negative; and I am authorized, from having conversed upon this subject with some sensible *Americans*, to say that  
they

they desire none of these things. I am almost afraid to use the epithet *virtual* Representation, because it has been already hiss'd at, and pointed out as ridiculous and unmeaning; I will undertake however to shew that it has it's Meaning, and not without Propriety. By special Representation is to be understood the election and appointment of certain persons to sit in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, to maintain the Honour and Rights of the King and Kingdom, and to provide for the united Interests and Happiness both of *Great Britain* and her Dependents. These are the special Representatives of their Constituents.

Out of special representation so defined, that which is *virtual* may with propriety be explained: If the Commons of *Great Britain* who are the special representatives of their constituents, have an interest in preserving to the Colonies whatever freedom and immunities they can enjoy, consistently with their dependence on the Mother Country, then the Colonies have a *virtual*, though not a special representation in the Parliament of *Britain*; that is, they have the force, and power, the benefit and effect of representation, and I will add, as more nearly allied to the term, the virtue of it, though not the thing itself. If the members of any one county  
of



of *England*, should at any time be absent from the deliberations of Parliament, that county would then not be actually represented, but it would be virtually so. And if this explanation of the term does not affix a rational and precise idea to the word, let the combined authors, and others, who have made such a stir about it prove the contrary.

Candid persons both in *Great Britain* and the Colonies will draw conclusions from hence favourable to the resolutions just now voted in the *British* House of Commons; they will believe that the legal right of taxing the Colonies however unauthorized by custom, or controvertible by charter, is not without just reason asserted by the *British* parliament. That the common welfare of all the subjects of the King of *Great Britain*, of the Colonists as well as of those at home, is the object of their attention; there being nothing more demonstrable, nor more apparent even to common sense, than that

**\* THE INTERESTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES ARE THE SAME;** that these cannot suffer

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\* Let us for the sake of clearer demonstration argue this Point syllogistically.

If the Interests of *Great Britain* evidently rise and fall with those of her Colonies, then the Parliament of *Great Britain* will

fer any kind of oppression, be loaded with taxes, drain'd of their specie, cramp'd in their commerce, abridg'd of their liberty, or even damp'd in their spirits, without at least equal injury to the liberty, trade and commerce, the welfare and prosperity of *Britain*. There is no point which the Pamphlet I have opposed has more laboured to prove than this; as if it were not already sufficiently understood by every sensible man who has at all applied himself to the subject. And the self evidence of it is, and will always remain, a security to the Colonies, that *Great Britain* will ever cherish a parental regard for them, that she will deal with them as with her children, and will lay no burdens upon them, that are not necessary to be borne, or that are understood to be oppressive

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will have the same Regard for the Colonists as for her own People.

But the Interests of GREAT BRITAIN do evidently rise and fall with those of her Colonies.

Therefore the Parliament of GREAT BRITAIN will have the same Regard for the Colonists as for her own People.

The minor Proposition may be thus farther proved,

If the more the Colonies flourish, in a state of Subordination and Dependence upon GREAT BRITAIN, the more Advantages GREAT BRITAIN will derive from them, then the Interests of GREAT BRITAIN and the Colonies are the same:

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pressive. She speaks to them in that style of equality and mutual endearment; *I am as thou art, my people as thy people*: And even after the contumely she has experienced only asks the one essential question, *Is thine heart right, as mine heart is with thine heart? If it be, give me thine hand*: Enjoy with me all the Freedom and immunities of a happy people; all the riches and greatness, all the security and emoluments that our mutual connection will admit, be placed above the condition of less favoured Colonies, and be the envy of Slaves and Bigots.

But

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But the more the Colonies flourish, &c.

Therefore the Interest of GREAT BRITAIN and the Colonies are the same.

If the Consequence of the first Syllogism should be denied, it may be thus proved:

If the Parliament of GREAT BRITAIN will provide for the best Estate of it's own People, then it will also provide for the best Estate of the Colonies with which the Interest of it's own People are united.

But the Parliament will provide for the best Estate of it's own People;

Therefore it will also provide for the best Estate of the Colonies with which the Interest of it's own People is united.

This can only be evaded by urging, that the Parliament may not understand the true Interest of BRITAIN and her Colonies, or will wilfully pursue an Interest contrary to the Welfare of all it's Subjects.

Which can only be answered by saying, that the Parliament of BRITAIN is neither perfect nor infallible, but shares



But the colonies are afraid of the § *arbitrary* government of *Britain*, and that if in one instance they submit to what they think proper to call by that name, it will be made a precedent for future, and still greater oppressions. Which objection may be variously understood, for either it may imply an apprehension of the governing part of *Great Britain* in this and all future time, as not rightly understanding the interest of the colonies and our mutual connection, and so as being ignorantly led to enact laws detrimental to both. Or else it may mean that the constitution of the *British* government is

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shares in the common Defects of the human Nature; and that if the Colonies will not be satisfied with less than Perfection and Infallibility, they can find the one only in *Utopia*, and the other in the Church of *Rome*.

And in Abatement of their present Uneasiness it may be observed, that they will always have in their Hands their present Remedy, against all imaginary Grievances, viz. Tumult, and violent Opposition.

§ It is a Saying of Mr. *Rousseau*, with whom, as he is now in *ENGLAND*, it would be a Pleasure to communicate, and to hear his farther Thoughts upon the Subject.

“ The English imagine they are a free People; they are however mistaken; they are such only during the Elections of Members of Parliament: When these are chosen, they become Slaves again.”

In civil Matters, as in religious, this extraordinary Genius appears to refine too much; and in some Points of physical and metaphysical Learning, I think I could convince him of Mistake.

is in its own nature arbitrary, and such as a freeborn *American* would not willingly be subject to.

But what reasonable ground of apprehension can there be that the *British* parliament should be ignorant of so plain a matter, as that *the interests of Britain and the Colonies are the same?*

It is almost a self-evident Proposition; and the Colonies, if they would justify their own tumultuous behaviour, and reconcile it to common sense, should endeavour to obscure this matter, and instead of asserting and proving as they have done, ought utterly to deny it. If the Parliament therefore mistake the Interests of the Colonies, they err also with regard to *Great Britain*, and the lot of both is equal: Our apprehension of danger ought to be the same with theirs; but both are groundless.

As to the latter sense of the Objection, *The arbitrary Constitution of the Government of Great Britain*; here also, if there were any room for the Objection, we are involved in at least equal danger with themselves. But for my part, I have always understood, that there is arbitrary power in every Government; and from this idea, I cannot free myself in whatever light I regard the subject. It may be placed in the hands of few or many, but I can conceive no earthly

earthly security better, none indeed so good, as that which depends upon the wisdom and integrity of a British King and Parliament.

Whether or no the STAMP ACT is a well concerted method of taxation, suitable to the Colonies, and easy to be borne, I have no opportunity to be informed, nor any ability to determine; but this I assure myself, and if I had a voice loud enough, would speak it in the ears of all the Colonies, That the wisdom of the British Parliament will be employed, first to understand and search out the matter; and afterwards to apply such remedy as the occasion shall require; either to vindicate their own honour, if the opposition be merely seditious, or to relax and alter, or even to repeal the ACT, if it shall be found burdensome and grievous to the Colonies.

I wish I could say there was room to hope for the same temper and moderation abroad; and that that petulancy of spirit which so lately exerted itself in Tumult and Sedition were subsided: That the Colonies would look a little back to their Origin, to the rock whence they were hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence they were digged; that they would consider by whose nurture and parental tenderness they have



have arrived at the greatness of such a people; how it has been brought about that *a little one is become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation*; and that they have not long since become a prey to a rapacious and all-devouring enemy; and then if they have a spark of virtue left, they will blush to be found in a posture of hostility against *Great Britain*, and will recover from it as expeditiously as they can; there being nothing so inexcusable as enmity to one's country, no name of infamy half so reproachful, as that of a base and ungrateful PARRICIDE. †

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† If it were not infinitely absurd for a private man of no experience to hint an expedient to the Public, I should hazard one at this time; but then I must expect to be twitted with my profession, and to be told that such things are not *rectified* in the shop, nor distill'd in the Laboratory, and to be pelted with Latin proverbs, *Ne futor ultra crepidam; ne pharmacopola ultra officinam*: To which I can only reply as in a note above, that I am no free agent but an amanuensis; an amanuensis to my evil genius, who will be obey'd, and dictates to me a counter apophthegm, *Interdum vulgus rectum videt*.

To come to the point then closer than ever. If I were to unriddle this hubbub in the Colonies, and to explain the grounds of their dissatisfaction, I should say that it does not arise from any thing grievous or intolerable in the present STAMP ACT, or from any thing else that they have expressly declared, or care to declare, but from an apprehension of the future effects of this claim of power in the *British* Parliament. In one word, they suspect a design to load them with the debt of *Great Britain*, in common

In order to satisfy the Reader, who has a farther demand upon me from the Title-Page, I must digress to a favourite topic with his Majesty's British subjects, especially the Common Council of *London* aforesaid, and the Mob throughout all *England*, that of LIBERTY; a Sound which cannot fail to awake in every great and unbounded soul the remembrance of it's bravest Champion, Mr. WILKES.

Other writers have nibbled at the subject, and here and there broke the fetters of constraint, making timid excursions into the land  
of

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common with the people of this island. Might it not then prove a healing measure to give to the Colonies all the security the nature of the thing will admit, both by law and charter, that nothing of this kind shall be attempted by us or our posterity for ever? In lieu of which exemption, from the burden of the Mother Country, would it not be reasonable? would it not be practicable to require and receive from the Colonies, annually, for the service of the Government, a certain quantity of such useful materials manufactured or otherwise, as their respective countries produce, such as timber, iron (if any iron is produced) and the like; or a sum of money for the maintainance of BRITISH troops for the defence of the Colonies? This expedient is only hinted here, but in able hands appears to be capable of being modified to great advantage. And here I quit the office of Projector, with great resignation as to my own scheme, but with earnest wishes that some conciliating medium may be proposed for the everlasting concord of GREAT BRITAIN and her Colonies.

of Liberty, rather like spies of the country, than as open and free booters. But this philosopher, by dint of singular Parts, Study, and *private Practice*, acquired so perfect an idea of the thing, as not even the celebrated *Gracchi*, nor their mother *Cornelia* had ever arrived at or imagined. By a single *Cast of his Eye* he saw and attained at the age of puberty, that the divine *Plato's* Image of Virtue was but the emblematical shadow of a beautiful Virgin without flesh or substance; and boldly maintained, that the tangible fibres of *Moll Hartly* were infinitely more divine and charming, of more extatic power, and ravishing to the sense, than any thing that philosopher had ever conceived in dreams or visions.

By the same tortile quality of the eye, and obliquity of the retina, he caught a side glance of many surprizing and paradoxical truths, which are utterly unattainable by direct vision; so much is mankind mistaken in their ideas of things (and particularly the late ingenious *Mr. Hogarth*) affixing opprobrious names to excellent qualities, and representing the oblique sighted *Mr. WILKES* as squint-eyed and gogling.

By a peculiar quality of the optic nerve, and position of the axes optici, he saw things not like



like other men, but as they really are; in that true state of inversion in which it is well known nature imprints them on the eyes of all, but which by a deception of the mind is not perceived by the wisest, and leaves men in the vulgar way of misapprehending things as they now do: For by this singular quality he saw, contrary to Common Sense, and simple apprehension, that prudent Nature had disposed all things in right order, and that mankind were guilty of the inversions; he saw clearly that Kings and Princes were really at the bottom of the system, and destined by Nature to the Fag-End; and that Porters and Scavengers, Shoe-Blacks and Link-Boys, Common Council-men and Carters were the Primordia of Nature, and the very Cream of Society; appointed to direct the order of things in the world below them, and in the sublimity of their will and understanding, to over-rule the besotted judgments both of Kings and Parliaments.

He saw—but there would be no end of seeing or relating the visual properties of this wonderful Man. It is sufficient to say, that from the singular Genius of this unfortunate Exile, are derived all those advantages and helps of Government, which *Great Britain* at this hour enjoys above all the nations upon earth.

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Hence

Hence it is that things glide so glibly on in the popular stream, and that every error in Government is timely corrected, without either law or justice.

Hence it is that *Spittal Fields* Weavers assemble together by thousands to avenge the infinite decay of their trade; occasioned by the bringing over from *France*, as is credibly reported, not less than two dozen yards of silk by one of the D—— of B——'s domestics.

Hence it is that that most respectable body, the Mobility of the City of *London*, with their usual moderation and decorum, did actually rescue from the hands of *Jack Ketch*, the immortal *North Briton*, No. 45, which, containing the great Charter of their Liberty, had been rashly sentenced to the flames by the ill-judging Commons.

Hence it is, thanks to the Scum and Dregs of the people of *Exeter* and it's environs, that we still hope to drink Cyder and Perry unexcised.

Hence it is that the reverend Mr. CHARLES CHURCHILL, his Pulpit and Cyder-Cellar both deserted,

deserted, made so elegant a display of his natural talent of scurrility and ribaldry, and that he was so completely the anti-type of that gentleman animal, which Mr. *Hogarth* exhibited for his resemblance, a *Russian Bear*: That with a stroke of his pen, by the divine afflatus of well-brewed Porter, he levelled all distinction, bespattering Lords and Commons, Peers and Bishops, so plentifully with dirt, that it was hard to know them in this filthy condition from Mr. CHURCHILL himself.

Hence it is that the matrimonial system, a yoke which neither we nor our fathers have been able to bear, is at this time so deservedly exploded; this gentleman, in conjunction with his dear Friend and Equal Mr. WILKES, having adopted the sentiment of the \* *Abbé le Blanc*, whom I shall quote in the margin, supposing that the conjugal adjunct of Mrs. WILKES and Mrs. CHURCHILL reflected ridicule

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Les hommes raisonnables, faisais de ridicules que la Nature a attaché à chaque individu, se mettent, le moins qu'ils peuvent dans la Nécessité de répondre de ceux des autres. — Un grand Homme auprès du Peuple perd du respect qui lui est dû à mesure qu'il a plus de choses communes avec les autres hommes. Je crois, en effet, qu'une Madame *Newton* et Madame de *Fontenelle*, dans l'Esprit de bien de Gens, feroient tort aux Hommes illustres dont elles porteroient le Nom.



cule on the great characters to which they were attached. To this tender regard for their reputation it was, and not to any thing libidinous in the constitution, that Mrs. WILKES was discarded for *Moll Hartly*, and Mrs. CHURCHILL for *Doll Common*.

Hence it is that as many traiterous Libels for the use of the subjects of *Great Britain* are published weekly, as there are news-papers in the Kingdom; that Coblers and Tinkers are become able Politicians, and as fit to guide the State as the Common Council of LONDON.

Hence it is that upon the upright and definitive Sentence of a C. J. in favour of Mr. WILKES, the Hall rings with acclamations, and the skilful navigators of our unwieldy vessel give three cheers for his deliverance.

Before these halcyon days of Liberty, we were slaves to the antiquated prejudices of our fore-fathers; who taking advantage of our education, had absurdly taught us to believe, that in true Liberty there is Restraint; that without subordination there is no rank, and that to be subject to rule, is the first principle both of Liberty and Precedency; that those Governments are most free and happy, whose  
Laws

Laws are most inviolably observed; and that *Israel* was never more pitifully enslaved, than when every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

Which idea of Liberty, so contrary to the light and knowledge, the genius and manners of the present age, if any one shall fairly demonstrate, I hereby sincerely and solemnly promise to become his Convert, and to resign my dear Liberty, now in the custody of the Populace of *Great Britain*, into the hands of REASON, LAW, and JUSTICE.

N. T. Pharmacopola.

## F I N I S.

ERRATA.—In Page 14, Line 20, for *engaging*, read *enchanting*.—And in the 8th Line of the Annotation in Page 25, for *Propotsfion*, read *Proposition*. In Page 18, Line 24, for *Utility*, read *Utility*.